

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MOSCOW 644

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EEWT PARM UR US XF

SUBJECT: SENATOR STEVENSON'S CALL ON GROMYKO

SUMMARY: DURING SENATOR STEVENSON'S CALL ON GROMYKO JANUARY 13, THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC AND TRADE ISSUES, SALT, THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE SENATOR ALSO MENTIONED THE HORN OF AFRICA AND THE SHCHARANSKY CASE AS EXAMPLES OF MATTERS WHICH COULD DISTURB IMPROVEMENT OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. END SUMMARY

1. SENATOR ADLAI STEVENSON, ACCOMPANIED BY CHARGE, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS AND PROFESSOR LEWIS, WAS RECEIVED BY FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AT 18:15 ON JANUARY 13. THE CONVERSATION LASTED ONE HOUR AND 35 MINUTES, ENDING AT 19:50. GROMYKO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO AND VIKTOR SUKHODREV, WHO INTERPRETED GROMYKO'S REMARKS. THE FOLLOWING TOPICS AROSE DURING THE CONVERSATION.

2. ECONOMIC ISSUES: THE SENATOR EXPLAINED THE BACKGROUND OF THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT, STRESSING THAT HIS INTENTION IN DRAFTING THE AMENDMENT WAS TO FIND A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT MEANS COULD BE FOUND TO ELIMINATE RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE.

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HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS COULD BE DONE ONLY IN AN IMPROVED POLITICAL CLIMATE, AND THEREFORE OTHER ISSUES SUCH AS SALT, THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA WOULD HAVE AN INFLUENCE ON THE CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT SPECIFIC PROBLEMS LIKE JACKSON-VANIK MIGHT BE EASIER TO SOLVE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AN EFFORT TO BECOME ENGAGED IN A RANGE OF BROADER ECONOMIC

ARRANGEMENTS SO THAT INDIVIDUAL PROBLEMS LIKE JACKSON-VANIK WOULD BE ONLY A PART OF A LARGER PICTURE. SOVIET MEMBERSHIP IN THE IMF AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL BODIES WOULD BE EXAMPLES OF WHAT HE HAD IN MIND BY A BROADER INVOLVEMENT.

3. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT U.S. LEGISLATION HAD AMOUNTED TO INTERFERENCE IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THEREFORE ITS TERMS WERE REJECTED. THE SOVIETS DESIRE TRADE ON A NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASIS, BUT IT IS UP TO THE U.S. TO DECIDE WHEN TO REMOVE THE BARRIERS. THIS COULD BE IN A MONTH, A YEAR, OR MORE. IF BARRIERS ARE ELIMINATED, ECONOMIC RELATIONS CAN DEVELOP. BUT THE U.S. MUST DECIDE; THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT ASKING FOR FAVORS. GROMYKO AGREED THAT AN IMPROVED POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE FACILITATES SETTLEMENT OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES, BUT OBSERVED THAT DIRECT LINKAGE OF DIFFERENT PROBLEMS, WHILE SOMETIMES APPROPRIATE, IS OFTEN NOT HELPFUL.

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4. SALT: PICKING UP THE SENATOR'S REFERENCE TO SALT AS AN ISSUE WHOSE SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION WOULD IMPROVE THE CLIMATE, GROMYKO STATED THAT NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PAST YEAR HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH, BUT A FEW QUESTIONS REMAIN. SOVIETS WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT AN AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED SOON. BUT U.S. SOMETIMES RAISES "ARTIFICIAL" QUESTIONS AND THIS DELAYS SOLUTIONS. SENATOR STEVENSON SAID THAT IN HIS VIEW THE SENATE WOULD BE MOST CONCERNED WITH TWO ISSUES: MODERNIZATION AND VERIFICATION. GROMYKO STATED THAT SOVIETS CAN AGREE TO SPECIFIC CRITERIA AND INDICES ON THE QUESTION OF MODERNIZATION AND THAT SOVIETS BELIEVE THAT EXPERIENCE

WITH SALT I HAS PROVED SUITABILITY OF NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION.
(SEPTTEL FOLLOWS ON DISCUSSION OF SALT ISSUES.)

5. MIDDLE EAST: GROMYKO FIRST LAID OUT WHAT HAS
BECOME A FAMILIAR REFRAIN ON THE MIDDLE EAST: THINGS
WERE GOING WELL LAST FALL AND MOVING TOWARD A
GENEVA CONFERENCE WITH THE U.S.-USSR
JOINT STATEMENT OF OCT. 1. BUT SADAT SUDDENLY
WENT TO JERUSALEM AND THE U.S. STARTED ENCOURAGING
SEPARATE DEALS. GENEVA WAS THEREBY TORPEDOED. SOVIETS
CONDEMN POLICY OF SEPARATE DEALS AND U.S. POLICY HAS
DRASTICALLY ADVERSE EFFECT ON SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS.
CHARGE COMMENTED AT THIS POINT THAT HE WAS DISAPPOINTED
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THAT GROMYKO HAD APPARENTLY NOT TAKEN NOTE OF OUR
RECENT CONVERSATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT WHEN WE MADE CLEAR
THAT WE HAD NOT ENGINEERED SADAT TRIP, THAT WE
ADHERED TO U.S.-SOVIET JOINT DECLARATION AND
REMAINED COMMITTED TO COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT AND
DESIRED GENEVA CONFERENCE. SENATOR STEVENSON REMARKED THAT
WHILE HE DID NOT FULLY SHARE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION
AND STATE DEPARTMENT VIEW OF MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS,
IT WAS PERFECTLY CLEAR IN THE U.S. THAT WE HAD NOT
BEEN INVOLVED IN THE SADAT INITIATIVE.

6. IN RESPONSE TO THE SENATOR'S SUGGESTION THAT ESTABLISHMENT
OF RELATIONS BETWEEN USSR AND ISRAEL WOULD HAVE A
HIGHLY FAVORABLE EFFECT ON SOVIET IMAGE IN U.S. PUBLIC
OPINION, GROMYKO REPLIED THAT SOVIETS HAD BEEN PREPARED
TO REESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL IF GENEVA CONFERENCE
CONVENED AND PROGRESS MADE TOWARD SETTLEMENT. IN PRESENT
CIRCUMSTANCES, HOWEVER, "NO SOVIET CITIZEN" COULD UNDERSTAND
REESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS.

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AS EXAMPLE OF SOVIET ATTITUDE, GROMYKO SAID THAT WHEN HE WAS IN U.S. LAST FALL HE RECEIVED REQUEST THROUGH INTERMEDIARY FROM FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN FOR A MEETING. GROMYKO SAID THAT HE AGREED, AND NOTED THAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY MET WITH EBAN AND ALLON. HOWEVER, INTERMEDIARY LATER REPORTED THAT DAYAN HAD WITHDRAWN REQUEST FOR MEETING. GROMYKO SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT DAYAN LATER TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE REJECTED THE MEETING BECAUSE GROMYKO HAD POSED CONDITIONS. GROMYKO DENIED THAT HE HAD INSISTED ON ANY CONDITIONS AND STATED THAT DAYAN CLAIM, IF REPORTED ACCURATELY IN PRESS, WAS UNTRUE.

7. GROMYKO CONCLUDED MIDDLE EAST DISCUSSION BY REITERATING SOVIET POSITION:

A. ARAB LANDS TAKEN IN 1967 MUST BE HANDED BACK BY ISRAEL;

B. THERE MUST BE SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIAN ARABS, INCLUDING CREATION OF AT LEAST A SMALL PALESTINIAN STATE TO PROVIDE A HAVEN FOR PALESTINIAN REFUGEES;

C. THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT MUST PROVIDE FOR THE

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INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING ISRAEL.

8. SOUTHERN AFRICA: GROMYKO SAID THAT SOVIETS FIRMLY SUPPORT MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND CONDEMN "PROCRASTINATING MEASURES" TO KEEP WHITE MINORITY IN POWER. (THE SENATOR SUBSEQUENTLY POINTED OUT THAT HIS REFERENCE TO "AFRICA" AS A POTENTIAL DISTURBING ELEMENT IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS RELATED PARTICULARLY TO EVENTS IN THE HORN, NOT SOUTHERN AFRICA. GROMYKO MADE NO RESPONSE TO THIS.)

9. SHCHARANSKY: THE SENATOR LISTED THE SHCHARANSKY CASE AS ONE WHICH HAS POTENTIAL OF DISTURBING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AND CAUSING A DETERIORATION IN THE POLITICAL CLIMATE. GROMYKO RESPONDED THAT HE HAD DIFFICULTY

REFRAINING FROM LAUGHING AT THE MENTION OF SHCHARANSKY.
NO SOVIET "MAN ON THE STREET" HAS EVER HEARD HIS NAME,
AND HE, GROMYKO, HAD NEVER HEARD OF HIM UNTIL OUTSIDERS
STARTED MENTIONING HIM. IF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DOES
NOT PERMIT SOMEONE TO LEAVE, IT IS FOR GOOD REASON --
REASONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY.

10. THE MEETING CONCLUDED WITH GROMYKO PAYING A GENEROUS
AND OBVIOUSLY SINCERE TRIBUTE TO THE SENATOR'S FATHER,
NOTING THAT HE HAD KNOWN THE ELDER STEVENSON FOR MANY YEARS,
HAD MANY CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM, AND CONSIDERED HIM
A MAN OF OUTSTANDING TACT, INTELLECT AND WISDOM, TRULY
A GREAT MAN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. GROMYKO THEN REMARKED
THAT HE HAD NOTED MANY OF THE SAME CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SENATOR.

11. DURING THE INITIAL PLEASANTRIES,
GROMYKO REMARKED THAT HE HAD BEEN WITH ALGERIAN
PRESIDENT BOUMEDIENNE MOST OF THE DAY. WHEN ASKED IF
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THEIR CONVERSATIONS WERE PRIMARILY ON THE MIDDLE EAST,
HE REPLIED THAT THE MIDDLE EAST WAS OF COURSE
DISCUSSED, BUT THAT MUCH TIME HAD BEEN SPENT ON BILATERAL
QUESTIONS AND ON OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.
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